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The living pattern of the summer residents generally amounts to the wife and non-working children living in the village for about three months in the summer. Heads of households and working children commute, usually by day and, of course, spend their vacations of two to four weeks in the village. This pattern is familiar to Americans who can afford it. In Lebanon, however, it is a money-saving device as well as an escape from the summer discomforts of the city. City living is definitely more expensive than village living. This has evidently always been true, but the situation has been greatly aggravated since 1940. In Beirut, food prices increased about five hundred per cent between 1940 and 1950, other commodities about four hundred per cent, causing severe hardship especially among the lower and middle classes (Cooke, 1952, pp. 131–32). This fact accounts for the occurrence of eight households in which the children and usually the wives live in the village all year around, while the husbands commute, usually returning to the village only on weekends.

When we look at Table 1 from the point of view of sources of income, we can deduce that the trend to urbanism is definitely increased as compared with urbanism in terms of residence only. Twenty-six (virtually 30 per cent) of the heads of household have city jobs and presumably support their families primarily thereby. In addition, a large number of unmarried young adults have city jobs. As we shall see shortly, the village is preponderantly dependent upon urban, rather than rural, sources of income. In this connection, we may cite Jardot who classifies Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, and western Turkey as an area in which less than 70 per cent of the population are dependent upon agriculture (Jardot, 1946, p. 302).

Twenty-five individuals are listed as "absent." Of these seventeen are women who have married outsiders and are living away from the village, returning only for occasional visits. Most of them are living in Lebanon. The remainder, eight persons, are living outside of Lebanon, mostly in Baghdad. They maintain contact with the village and are still legal residents of it.

The village record is more detailed in Hilwi than it is in the village proper, partly because Hilwi is [illegible] Goes with the outside. Hilwi's population is as follows: resident, 39; summer, 41; absent, 3; emigrated, 2; total 84. None of its eleven households is wholly resident, and three of them are wholly summer.

OCCUPATIONS

A detailed study and discussion of Table 3 will bring out most of the important facts concerning the occupations of the villagers. Let us first consider the series of totals. The number of males for records that of females who have gainful or purposeful employment outside the home, 171 to 44. The discrepancy in the ratio which these figures suggest is corrected by the fact that 120 females are housewives or "at home." The total of 76 heads of household does not tally with

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the 87 households which have been recorded for the Core Group. This is because some of the heads of households are over the age of sixty-nine, and because a few of the households do not have formal male heads.

The "F" and "S" columns indicate the number of individuals who hold, respectively, village and urban (or extra-village) jobs. By far the majority, it can

TABLE 3. OCCUPATIONAL STATUSES, AGES 15-69

Area	Sex		Occupation														Residence	
	M	F	Unemployed	Retired	Unemployed	School	Housewife	Trade School or College	Village Craft	Village Service	Unskilled	Skilled	Trade	Professional	No Data		M	F
15-19	39	38			1	27	9	6	1	3		7		23	16			
20-24	25	11	2		1			4	1	7		6	9	4	3			
25-29	22 (2)*	7	3	1	1			1	4	9		4	3	3	6			
30-34	9 (2)	1	1						1	4		2	1		1			
35-39	8 (2)	1	1		1				2	2	1		2	1	1			
40-44	10 (1?)	3	2	1	5				3	4	2	2	1		11			
45-49	10 (1?)	3	3		4				2	3	2	2	1	2	9			
50-54	14 (1?)			3	7					1				1	13			
55-59	12 (1?)		2	3	5					1				3	8			
60-64	6 (1)				2				1	1				2	4			
65-69	3 (1)													3	2			
Total	171 (9?)	66	34	10	27	28	9	11	17	37	5	27	24	39	80	120		

* Number in parentheses = heads of households.

? = unknown.

Unemployed, or "at home" (all females) = 120.
Unemployed men recorded (2 male, 1 female) = 6.

be readily seen, have the latter. In terms of gainful employment, 122 persons work in urban jobs (subtracting 20, the number of these in boarding school and college, from 122). Similarly, the total of 83 in village occupations can immediately be reduced to 57 by subtracting the 26 people in the village schools. In addition, most of those listed as unemployed are village residents. The "F" and "S" columns suggest quite strongly the tendency for younger people to predominate in urban jobs, older people to predominate in village jobs.

The "unemployed" figures are the least reliable in the table. In the first place,

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the distinction between "unemployed" and "retired" among the older men is not at all easy to make. It depends, essentially, on the attitudes of the man himself and his family. In the second place, among the younger men especially, the distinction between "village worker" and "unemployed" is not entirely clear. The "village workers" mostly are either hired farm hands or assistants to "village specialists." In most cases, it was not easy to tell, however, how steady their work was. In the third place, it is quite possible that some of those in the "city worker" class are actually unemployed most of the time.

The class of "farmer" (*fillaḥ*) is very distinct. A farmer is a man who not only owns his own property, but works it for the support of himself and his family. Most of the farmers in Mansūf also tend the agricultural property of fellow villagers who are not farmers. This is done, apparently, largely on a cash basis. The standard fee for a day's plowing, for example, was reported to be ten Lebanese pounds (about two dollars and a half).

It was said, "Before (i.e., before emigration and city jobs), we were all *fillaḥīn*." Now there are only ten farmers, and all of them except one are middle aged or elderly men. The exception is a young man of twenty-eight, a member of lineage XX, who evidently intends to make farming a career. He has made a realistic appraisal of the very difficult agricultural conditions in the village itself, and has acted accordingly with considerable initiative. Shortly after World War II he bought some unused land on the southern rim of Wādī Ba'ūnīn, just outside the Qurṭī, close to the present terminus of the irrigation channel which brings water from the River Ibrahīm (see Figs. 1 and 2). Considerable blasting with dynamite was necessary in the preparation of terraces, and earth had to be transported to the site. But with irrigation water he has already been able to develop a very impressive banana orchard which presumably has brought quick profits (cf. Kano, 1946, p. 82), and he said that he plans to expand in the near future. It is significant that *he found he got essentials other village farmers to accomplish this work.*

The nature of the "village specialist" class can better be understood when it is broken down into subcategories, with the number of persons involved in each, as follows:

Mayor	1	Fisherman	3
Taxi driver	1	Surveyor	1
Barber	2	Mason	2
Priest	1	Carpenter	2
Storekeeper	8	Teacher	4

Part-time jobs held by various men most of whom are included in the tabulation above are: storekeeper (the priest), two bakery owners (a teacher and a farmer), and a crop guard (mayor, traditionally a very important position). Two men, still living, were once shoemakers, and another was a muleteer part-time. In the population as a whole there are at least six former teachers and five former store-

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The boarding-school, as well as the day-school, students include both boys and girls. The technical school and college students are nearly all boys, most of them at the American University, one in the government normal school, a couple at the government vocational school. All these institutions are in Beirut.

We cannot, unfortunately, be very specific about the "white-collar" class. The chief criterion is that none is a manual laborer, and they were obviously all considered to hold respectable positions. Many are clerks in offices or shops. The most outstanding is an official in one of the government ministries. There are no practicing physicians and no lawyers.

The "city specialists" can be subdivided as follows:

Protestant preacher	1	Seamstress	3
Detective	1	Waiter	3
Fireman	1	Hospital attendant	4
Soldier (sergeant)	1	Janitor	3
Tailor	2	Surveyor	1

The "merchants" consist of members of a single family, plus close village associates, who own and operate a store in Beirut. They have been very prosperous since World War II.

Four of the teachers work in the village itself, but the individuals concerned have not always done so, and the teachers in the village government school have in the past often been outsiders, assigned by the Ministry of Education.

Lastly, it will be observed that over half of the gainfully employed women and girls are medical nurses. The position is one of some prestige in itself. Parents and family prefer it to other jobs because it means that the girl will be under the protection of an institution, and also because it may eventuate in the marriage of

MARITAL STATUS AND OCCUPATION

Table 6, which indicates the marital status of the population between the ages of fifteen and forty-five, reveals certain facts related to occupations. Everyone

TABLE 6. MARITAL STATUS: AGES 15-44

	Men		Women			Men		Women	
Age	Single	Married	Single	Married	Age	Single	Married	Single	Married
15-19	59	0	37	0	30-34	6	7	4	7
20-24	50	1	17	7	35-39	3	4	2	12
25-29	15	8	10	10	40-44	2	14	0	12

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[Munsif]

holds and in order to describe the relationships between them, capital letters will be used to designate individuals. From the village of Fidar (south of Jbeil on the main highway) there are two households: (1) A, his wife, and his mother B; (2) C, his wife D, and three children. From the village of Hjoula (northwest and inland from Beirut) there is one household consisting of E, his wife, an unmarried daughter, a son F, and F's wife G.

B, now a widow, was married twice. By her first husband she bore C. By her second husband she bore A and G. At one time, B's second husband was married to another woman, and from this union there came D who is C's wife. In other words, C's mother was once the wife of his wife's (D's) father. C is the half-brother of A and G who are full siblings. D is a half-sister of A and G, and by stretching things a little one might be able to say that she is a step-sister of her husband (C).

This information came to light as the result of a Core Group informant's comment that C and his wife were brother and sister. After the explanation had been made, the informant said, "Well, they call each other brother and sister sometimes." The relationship clearly evoked humor, but it is possible that lurking beneath the humor was a feeling that the connection was a little too close for comfort in the eyes of the Christians.

The presence and various activities in Munsif of the Peripheral Group, the Whites, and the Mawli are, with one exception, concrete evidence of the *ethnic division of labor* which, in Coon's view (1951), accounts for so many of the salient characteristics of Middle East culture. With this view the present writer is in essential agreement, and a full discussion of its theoretical significance for this study is presented in the chapter "Some Theoretical Considerations."

In this instance, the ethnic distinctions are primarily religious in nature. This conforms with the general pattern of the phenomenon, but there are lacking in Munsif most of the visible cultural differentiations, such as costume, which are often so conspicuous elsewhere. One reason for the homogeneity of appearance in Munsif is the fact that nearly everyone concerned is from the same rather small region, Northern Lebanon, although several different communities are represented.

Of the three Core Group families there are nearly two dozen of people in the Peripheral Group. One of these, the Greek Orthodox nuclear family from Syria, represents the kind of internal migration which is of common occurrence in the region. Long ago, a similar group by a similar action established the community itself. With respect to the Core Group, the Orthodox family in the Peripheral Group only does not exemplify Coon's ethnic division of labor. The remainder of the Peripheral Group do, however. They differ among themselves, and with respect to the Core Group, in the important matter of religion. Also, they are outsiders to the local group. In terms of the structural theory which is presented in the chapter "Some Theoretical Considerations," each is a representative of a more widely distributed segment of Sphere 4 (Out Group) within another, locally established, Sphere 4 segment which is itself an enclave in the area of another segment of Sphere 4. Functionally, all these members of the Peripheral Group serve the Core Group as hired hands in capacities which are generally regarded as menial. It was quite evident that members of the Core Group would be very unwilling to serve each other in such capacities.

What is true of members of the Peripheral Group as individuals is essentially true

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[Munsif]

of the Westerners and the Mtawli as groups. The Westerners are transhumants, representing an activity which is of frequent occurrence along the slopes of Mount Lebanon (cf. Thoumin, 1936, pp. 134-35). According to Cave Group informants, they, or other Maronites like them, have always come to the village in winter. They live either in vacant houses or in the lower sections of occupied houses. Their presence in the village is primarily in their own interest which is the need for winter pasturage for their sheep and goats. However, the Cave Group has everything to gain and nothing to lose by their being in the village. The flocks furnish a convenient extra supply of meat and milk, some of the men hire themselves out for farm labor, they pay rent for their dwellings, and the children attend both of the village schools.

The Mtawli are looked upon with some disapproval. The Mtawli as a group have been in the village since about 1940, and there was no one comparable to them before that in the village. The men are specialists in preparing charcoal for sale, (mostly outside the village) and for this they cut the scrub oak which is fairly abundant in the village territory. They pay a prearranged sum to the owners of the property on which they cut the wood. Evidently this sum is agreed upon with a view to the Cave Group members' getting a fair return relative to the profits of the Mtawli, and some bitterness in regard to the way this arrangement worked out was indicated. The women of this group either work in the bakeries or hire themselves out part time as domestic servants or laundresses. The children attend the village schools.

It might be tempting to classify these groups as castes. In terms of such traits as ethnic (religious) division of labor, absence of intermarriage, and occasional suggestions of superiority-inferiority judgments they indeed look something like castes. Most emphatically, however, they are not, at least not in the sense in which the term is applied to the characteristic social groups of India. This opinion is founded upon the following considerations: In the first place, in other Lebanese villages representatives groups of the same sects live together in entirely different orders of dominance. There is nothing inherent in the nature of any of the sects which makes one necessarily dominant over another. The crucial factor is simply the relative degrees of numerical superiority and local establishment which obtain in the particular area. In other words, as has been suggested by Lebeuf, Musil, Murphy, and Jaussen in their presentations of Cana's ethnic division of labor and the present writer's own theory of "spheres." In the second place, as far as was observed, social interaction is in no way colored by group avoidance or any such concept as pollution through social contact. The general tendency in *all* social relationships in the village is equalitarian, continued, to be sure, with the various barriers which are consequences of the system of "spheres."

It should be noted that the village is regularly visited by two types of itinerants: (1) Tinkers and scissors grinders, who announce their arrival in the village with special cries of the type which contribute greatly to the liveliness of the streets in the cities. They go from house to house and do whatever jobs they are given on the spot. (2) Various types of people all of whom are classed as beggars and of whom it is said, "They do not work, they have no homes, they are thieves and liars." Some are beggars outright; others seek, perhaps sincerely, to find work as servants. Notable among the true beggars are the Nawar (Gypsies). One group of them was observed—three women in distinctive costumes, including circular head-dress, their faces tattooed, marching up the road with

6.1 Occupations of heads of households. Table 76

463 People work in Beirut at occupations which range from the modern technically trained experts to porters who astound new arrivals with their ability to carry huge loads over long distances with horizontal and vertical. These occupations have been grouped in categories in the table.

125 Codification of occupations represented one of the most difficult aspects of the survey. No suitable index was available. The special situation of Beirut made western and eastern categorizations invalid. A tentative categorization was made on the basis of relatively knowledge after city. Coding was done on several hundred cases. At the end of this time a conference was called of the three coders and the directors and assistants. Coders had taken notes on occupations which were relatively frequent but which did not fit the established categories. A final draft agreed upon by all personnel involved was decided upon and interviews were recoded. Seventeen broad categories of occupations were finally established. It must be remembered that our study was limited to the heads of families only in respect to occupation.

It was decided not to publish sub-categories, because the samples of almost all of them were so small that they would have led almost inevitably to misinterpretations even with cautions given about their lack of statistical reliability.

125 463 Professional and semi-professional occupations

Professional people were considered to be

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the following: accountants, college teachers and upper administrative officers, dentists, engineers, lawyers, nurses, newspaper publishers, editorial writers, reporters, surveyors, clergymen and school teachers. The range of income of these groups was large as was the amount of training undergone.

Managers, officials, large businessmen and rentiers

There was considerable difficulty in forming this category, but in general it is meant to include an upper-class group which has general power and influence in the city, either from high-ranking official position or because of position in the business world. It formed the largest group, other than miscellaneous, with almost twelve percent of the total sample. Of these, almost half were large merchants as might be expected in a city which depends on commerce for its existence. This is a much larger group of this type than would be found in most cities.

One reason for the size of this category is that Beirut is a capital city and therefore would have an inordinate amount of public officials. Another reason is that the attractions of a metropolis lure people of wealth.

Small businessmen

Almost equally as large as the managers etc., category, is the group of small businessmen. The largest percentage of these are small retail owners. As a group, they represent marginal enterprises which fill small niches in the economy. They are very often such small ope-

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443 443 rations that western entrepreneurs of similar class status would be appalled. A small grocery store, for example, might have a stock not worth more than one thousand Lebanese pounds. It would consist of items turning over rapidly, such as cigarettes, which would be in good supply, and probably some canned goods which present a sales turnover of once a year. There would be no breadth to the inventory. Indeed, one of the commonest replies in these stores, and even in much larger ones, is that they will get an item requested later that day, or tomorrow, or next week.

Or a shoemaker and repair man may have a shop two meters by five meters in which he operates by daily purchases of leather or purchases to meet yesterday's demand, so that there is no inventory whatsoever other than a little equipment.

Other small entrepreneurs make their livings variously in such business as small restaurants. These are mainly coffee houses for gossip and the accompanying group interactions.

Clerical

443 Under the heading of clerical, we included bookkeepers, agents usually representing foreign firms, messengers, secretaries, (a term locally used to include both stenographers and secretaries in the western sense) and telephone operators. They constitute slightly over six percent of the sample, which is remarkably small for a city.

Sales and kindred occupations

443 441 The next category, sales and kindred occupations, was subdivided into commission agents, peddlers, and salesmen. The peddlers are a particularly large group. They are typically small in their operations, hawking vegetables, fruit, soft drinks, and miscellaneous gadgets through the streets of the town. They, perhaps, should have been included among the small businessmen, but it was felt that even with the minute size of many businesses, the peddlers

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were too small to be thought of in this category. They represent almost six percent of the sample.

Personal services

The category "personal services" was composed of the sub-groups, barbers, cooks, customs releasers, waiters, servants and miscellaneous occupations of similar calibre. Customs releasers, of whom seven were interviewed, is an occupation which would not have been thought of in most indexes of occupations, but constituted a significant part of our personal services sample category. Their occupation involves dealing with the customs officials on a service which relieves travellers and businessmen from the tedious procedures of customs.

Only twelve servants were found in the sample. This figure is misleading unless it is remembered that the servants are primarily women or young girls and they are not heads of families. The incidence of servants is better represented in the household composition chapter. The group accounts for over five percent of the sample.

Protective services

Protective services include policemen, firemen, gendarmes, guardians and soldiers. Firemen are not a significant part of the protective services, because a stone and concrete city has little call for their services. The biggest group is that of policemen and gendarmes. A surprisingly large number of soldiers were interviewed, considering the small military establishment in Lebanon. The entire category was only slightly over four percent.

Agricultural occupations and fishing

Agricultural workers are sub-divided into the workers proper who do not own land and owners who work on their land. Shepherds and fishermen were also included. It is interesting to note that, for a seaboard city, more shepherds were found than fishermen, although this is probably an accident of sampling. However, fishing is less of an occupation than might be supposed since fish are in short supply over the

463 226 city and are very expensive as a result. Otherwise the sample is small as might be expected in a city.

Processors of food and other agricultural products

463 The category of processing of food and agricultural products includes such sub-groups as bakers, meat cutters, and those engaged in tobacco and textile manufacturing. About three percent of the sample are in this category.

Clothing fabrication

Those who are engaged in the fabrication of finished clothing include such sub-groups as dressmakers, knitters and tailors. They represent almost five percent of the sample.

Fabricated wood and wood products

463 356 Sub-groups include carpenters, paper-manufacturing employees, and others engaged in final processing of wood products. Carpenters were included in this category rather than in the construction industry, since the use of wood is almost negligible in the construction industry. Indeed, almost nothing but doors are made of wood. The principal work of carpenters is in building furniture and cabinets. They almost invariably work out of small shops. The group includes less than three percent of the sample.

Printing

463 Less than half of one percent of the sample were engaged in the printing trade. This is probably an underestimate.

Potters and allied trades

About one percent of the sample was engaged in the making of pottery and the fabrication of other stone and clay products.

Metal working

Metal working occupations were sub-divided into blacksmiths, jewelers, machinists, and tinkers. Jewelers are primarily gold and silver craftsmen which accounts for their inclusion in

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463 this category. Almost four percent of the sample falls into this group.

Construction workers

Construction workers include masons, painters, plasterers, plumbers tile setters and electricians. Of course, some of the electricians are working in servicing of electrical appliances [306] rather than in construction. The plumber is usually also a tinker and sells sanitary gadgets. More than three percent of th sample falls into this category.

Transportation

The largest single sub-category of transportation workers is the autodriver. The next biggest group is porters. Thse porters do miscellaneous carrying jobs forpersons and firms who find human labour more cheaper than mechanical transport or whose volume of deliveries is not sufficient to hir porters full time. Other sub-groups are longdistance, motormen, truckmen, and motor vehicl sales and service. Longdistancemen (bahari) area significant subgroup as befits such an important port and transit center as Beirut. Thesetire group is our fourth largest category constituting almost eight percent of the sample.

Miscellaneous

The miscellaneous occupational group includes over eighteen percent of the total sample, but is relatively insignificant when it is realized that of the eighteen percent, thirty percent were housewives, another forty percent were retired or ill, and over twenty-five percent were unemployed.

4.2 Length of time at last job. Table 77

464 Respondents were asked how long they had worked at the job before their present one. Almost forty-two percent had never worked at another job while the modal group of those who had had other jobs was between ten and twenty years. This seems to be high stability of employment.

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because a number are out of working age as yet. Some insight into the psychology of the household heads is evidenced in the low number (4 %) who answered freely that they wanted their eldest sons to choose their own jobs.

6.15 **Incidence of village work by head of household for part of year. Table 90**

Respondents were asked if they worked in the villages part of the year. Only one in twenty answered affirmatively. Since the sample is so small further analysis is unreliable. Results are presented, however, for whatever interest they may have in Tables 91, 92 and 93.

Summary

The classification scheme is crude, but is believed to give a fairer breakdown in the major categories than any existing system. Some of the categories are too broad, but further refinement was impossible with this size sample.

For a city its size, the division of labour is quite extensive. Bacrot is a city of small businessmen eking out a subsistence. As a footnote to this, it must be pointed out that many people have more than one job, far more than is usual in most cities.

As the division of labour is epitomized, so also do many people operate as jacks-of-all-trades. For example, the toilet-plumber-electrician-gladstone service-man is a combination which combines the skills of what would be decidedly separate occupations in many cities. One unfortunate result of this is the all too often [illegible] which results from monitoring some of the services fully.

It will be remembered that respondents were drawn only from political listed. The proportions of occupations are therefore only for the city residents. They might conceivably be altered if those who commute to the city had been included in the study.

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[illegible]

Table 76

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Professional and technical occupations	190	9.76	[illegible]
Managers, officials, proprietors	224	11.50	[illegible]
Clerical occupations	117	6.00	[illegible]
Sales and kindred occupations	111	5.70	[illegible]
Personal service	104	5.34	[illegible]
Protective service	78	4.01	[illegible]
Agricultural, forestry and fishing	37	1.90	[illegible]
Processors of food and agricultural products	58	2.98	[illegible]
Clothing fabricators	85	4.40	[illegible]
Fabricated wood and wood products	67	3.45	[illegible]
Printing	9	0.46	
Fabricated chemical products	13	0.66	
Metal working trades	74	3.83	[illegible]
Construction and allied trades	60	3.10	[illegible]
Transportation	132	7.83	[illegible]
Miscellaneous occupations	364	18.70	[illegible]

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Table 90

Incidence of Village Work by Head of Household for Part of the Year

Sample	Number	Percent	etc.
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Worked in village	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Did not work in village	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Table 91

Occupations in Village for Part of Year

Type of occupation	Number	Percent
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]
Agriculture	[illegible]	[illegible]
Handicraft	[illegible]	[illegible]
Business owners service	[illegible]	[illegible]
Business owners service		
Other	[illegible]	[illegible]
Shop	[illegible]	[illegible]
Others	[illegible]	[illegible]
No answer	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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who hold formal authority, are still predominantly village-centered. However, the number of those living away most of the time is impressive, and it includes most of the younger heads of household. In the future, then, it appears probable that the number and proportion of those living away will increase. Yet, of the large number who live away most of the time, few if any have broken effective and affective ties with the village. This is a very important point, and more will be said about it later.

There are two reasons for the prevalence of residence away from the village: (1) education at a higher level than that provided by the two schools (one public, one private) in the village; and (2) urban occupations, qualification for most of which depends on at least a primary education. Education and nonagricultural jobs thus go hand in hand, and the basic motivation rests in the very understandable desire to make a better living than that which farming in the area is likely to provide.

The people of al-Munsif are very proud of their educational status, which they have attained by diligent efforts and considerable sacrifice over a period of several decades. Nearly 100 percent literacy prevails, and in many cases it is bilingual. Forty-eight persons between the ages of 15 and 19 (43 of them between 15 and 19) were still receiving their education in 1952 — in the village schools, in boarding schools, and at the college level. Most of them are boys, but 11 girls are included. The majority of the college students attend the American University of Beirut, and there are several graduates of that institution in the population.

The segment of the population between the ages of 15 and 69 can be looked upon as the potential working force of the village. Thus, 335 people are involved, of which 171 are males and 164 are females. To arrive at the number of people who are gainfully employed outside the home, we must subtract the 48 students, the 120 females who were either housewives or girls "at home," and the 19 men who were clearly unemployed at the time of the study. The actual working force, in terms of earning capacity, therefore amounted to 148 people (115 men and 33 women).

Of these wage earners, 49 were working in the village and 99 away from it. Economically, then, the urban trend appears to be even more pronounced than the population by residence figures, alone, suggests. It must be kept in mind, however, that the majority of heads of household, whatever their primary occupation, are also landowners and derive some income from the produce of their land even though most of them do not do the farm labor themselves.

The village occupations include 10 full-time farmers (mostly middle-aged men) who operate their own farms and also perform various tasks — such as plowing — for other landowners who are not farmers. Services of this kind are paid for in cash. There are 14 other men who work as hired hands for the farmers or for non-operator landowners. Then there are

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621 15 specialties as follows: mayor, 1; priest, 1; taxi driver, 1; butcher, 1;
463 storekeeper, 8; fisherman, 3; surveyor, 1; mason, 1; carpenter, 1; teacher 4.
There are 6 small stores in the village. There are also two bakeries which
are important social centers for the women. One of these is owned by the
taxi driver, the other by one of the teachers.

621 The city occupations include a variety of white-collar jobs (such as clerk,
463 librarian, and government official), semiskilled and skilled jobs, and the
178 following specialties: Protestant preacher, 1; detective, 1; foreman, 1; sol-
dier, 1; tailor, 2; seamstress, 5; waiter, 3; hospital attendant, 4; janitor, 1;
surveyor, 1; merchant, 5; teacher, 17; medical nurse, 24. One man in the
village had been a practicing physician but has now retired. The prevalence
of school teaching is notable, and it will be remembered that the pattern
for this specialty was established early in the process of culture change.
Over two-thirds of the working women are nurses (including student-
[359] nurses). It was explained that nursing is a respected occupation and that
since the women work in the shelter of a large institution, it is a safer
position for them than many other city jobs are.

621 The factors of change in the economics of the village can be summarized
464 as: (1) a drastic reduction in the number and proportion of agricultural
178 workers; (2) a rapid and extensive development of non-village and most
[362] urban occupations, of which there is a considerable variety; and (3) women
working outside and away from home for the first time in the history of
the village. The variety of the women's occupations is much more restricted
than the men's. The majority of the women are under 30 years of age and
appear to consider their jobs as preludes to marriage rather than as life-
long careers.

621 *Religion.* Religion does not appear still to permeate the everyday life
178 of the villagers. In those activities and problem areas which have been,
771 generally speaking, strongly affected by modern rationalism and technol-
ogy — in the prevention and cure of disease, for example, — rationalistic
procedures seem to take precedence over ritualistic.

621 In addition to the village church, there are three saints' shrines in
778 al-Mumsif. Associated with each structure is a section of waqf land of which
178 the priest is the custodian, and the produce of which contributes to his sup-
port. Each shrine is at some distance from the others and from the village
proper, so that it is impossible to get to a shrine without deliberate intent
and effort. Traditionally, the shrines are used primarily for the purpose
of special prayers, offerings, and vows on behalf of those who are sick.
[765] It might be supposed that as the rationalistic treatment of disease increases,
the intensity of the use of shrines would decrease. This is a subtle matter
and really conclusive evidence on it could not be obtained. However, it was
clear that the opinions of the villagers regarding the meaningfulness of the
shrines are varied and conflicting. One remark was that the saints could not

the households are of minimum size, the strong and effective bonds of kinship are by no means limited to these units. For example, adult brothers maintain very close bonds throughout their lives, and this is often extended to first cousins, especially those on the father's side.

United in history, in religion, and in kinship, the people of al-Mansūrī maintain a basically equalitarian society. Although there are individual differences in fortune and capability, there is nothing to suggest a class system. It was made quite clear, for example, that no one would ask or expect a fellow villager to serve him steadily in any work considered menial. Nevertheless, there is work of this sort which is done in the village. There are those who do it live in al-Mansūrī, but they are not of it. Between them and the members of the village there are no kinship ties, either by blood or marriage, and they belong to different religions from that of the village.

These additional inhabitants of the village come to a total of about 51 persons. Thirteen of them consist of house servants and the workers at the cafe of the laborers. The remainder fall into two groups. The first of these amounts to over 30 people (6 households). These people are all Maronites and they come to al-Mansūrī in the winter only, with their flocks of sheep, goats, and cattle, from two villages which are mentioned at that season. Besides caring for their flocks, the men do wage labor in al-Mansūrī and the women often do laundry. They live either in houses which are vacant in the winter or in the lower levels of occupied houses. The second group totals 13 persons in 3 households. They are very closely related to each other, and are Mirwadi (Lebanese Shi'a). This group has been in al-Mansūrī only about 10 years, and there was no one like them before that. The men are charcoal burners and use the scrub oak which grows in the village territory. The women do laundry and other chores for the village members.

The presence of these subsidiary groups in the village is a good example of the characteristic Middle East ethnic division of labor at work, emphasized by Carleton Coon.* The ethnic distinction in this case is on the basis of religion and place of origin.

Location. It should now be clear that in some respects the traditionally extreme location of al-Mansūrī has been greatly lessened, while in other respects it remains strong. Herein lies the essence of the conflict which culture change has brought to al-Mansūrī.

On the one hand, modern education and urban jobs (almost all of them related to institutions introduced through Western influence) have drawn a significant proportion of the villagers away from the village and village life in terms of economic activities, general interests, intellectual horizons, and ambitions. This trend is clearly recognized by many of the older people who can remember when conditions were different. A good many of them

*Carleton S. Coon, *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (New York, 1951).

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Lebanon that it could no longer be absorbed within the country. The village folk had the choice of submitting to a life of poverty or of emigrating abroad, seeking new opportunities and fortunes. The first alternative was incompatible with their cultural heritage. They were mostly independent farm owners, not share croppers; they were awakened by a comparatively high degree of learning; they were exposed to influences of the West; and they had a long history of struggle against great odds, demanding initiative and enterprise on the part of the individual and the group.

Consequently, they resorted to emigration for relief. Some sought opportunities in the urban centers of neighboring Arab countries. They established themselves there as merchants, bankers, publishers, doctors, and as government officials in various capacities. Most of them, however, turned toward the promising New World, north and south. It is estimated that these emigrants, together with the families they have reared, now extend to number the population residents in Lebanon itself.

Recent estimates put the population of Lebanon at 1.2 million, of whom about 75 percent are rural. There seems to be no slackening in the high rate of increase. The density of population, one of the highest in the world, amounts to about 500 per square mile of total area, and 1,000 per square mile of cultivated area. In the Middle East it is exceeded only by Egypt, which holds the world record with a density of about 2,000 per square mile of cultivated area.

This biological resource of the village community constitutes both a serious problem and a challenge to Lebanon. Emigration possibilities for the surplus population are no longer as readily available as they were prior to a decade or two ago. A realistic, long-range solution lies in the application of an enlightened population policy and developmental program that would result in controlled growth on the one hand, and in the efficient development of the country's natural resources on the other.

The second major contribution of the village community to the country is economic. This is readily apparent and needs little elaboration. Dwellers in the villages are the farming folk of Lebanon. Their agricultural activity is the mainstay of the

Lebanon 1951
Syria 1951

In neither country is there an officer caste or a strong military tradition, though the present Syrian regime is trying to create one.

Social Survey

The ruling class in both countries is drawn from wealthy families; titles do not exist and the 'old' rich families, whose position and wealth come from land, rub freely with the 'new' rich families, whose money comes from commerce. There is no stigma in engaging in trade and even members of the upper class are merchants. A middle class of functionaries and employees has been growing up since 1918 in the three main cities. Their flats, between the splendour of the rich quarter and the bustle of the *suq*, are being built in quantities and their new, middle-class way of life is based on European standards. The mass of the people are artisans and labourers. The urban artisan approaches the middle class and the rural labourer approaches the hard life of the nomad; for the farm labourer the standard of living is generally low.

The Press

The press of both countries is important but no one paper or group of papers has established an ascendancy. Damascus had at one time over twenty daily papers some of which could guarantee a circulation of over 5,000. The same state of affairs holds true in Beirut where most parties issue Arabic and in some cases French papers; there are also Armenian newspapers and one English daily.

Individual Lebanese have founded papers and *Le Commerce du Levant*, published in Beirut, has a standing comparable with *Le Bourse Egyptienne*. In both countries press censorship has frequently closed down a paper only for it to re-emerge under another name, and in Syria the military dictatorship has reduced the press to a mere mouthpiece of official propaganda.

Education

In both countries there are primary and secondary schools, and the number of schools and students increase each year. Primary education is compulsory, and although reliable figures of literacy are not available,[1] it may be assumed that the percentage of illiterates is decreasing in both countries, but is higher in Syria than in Lebanon. In Syria, most of the schools are run by the state and of the private schools (which are

[1] The estimate for Syria for 1947 given in UN, Dept. of Social Affairs, *Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation*, 1952, was 40·50 per cent.

during and after the war of 1914-1918; and a large number entered the country even more recently, in 1939 after the cession to Turkey of the Sanjaq of Alexandretta, where many Armenian refugees from Turkey had settled. Most of the Armenians arrived penniless and were dependent in the beginning upon international relief organizations, but in the last twenty years their economic situation has greatly improved. They are mainly craftsmen and small traders and almost all are now town-dwellers.

Foreign in language and appearance and socially half-isolated, they have not always been popular with the inhabitants. Some nationalists disapprove of them because they are still unassimilated and because they have added another minority problem to those already existing. Their competitors accuse them, as minorities in their position are often accused, of depressing the level of wages and of monopolizing the trades and crafts to which they have applied themselves.

These Armenians have several alternative conceptions of their future as a nation. There are some, mainly those who have made good, who are prepared to live permanently in Lebanon as a minority; in order to make this possible they wish the Armenians to learn Arabic, to prove themselves good citizens and to co-operate with the bulk of the population in matters of common interest, but at the same time to retain their Armenian characteristics and loyalty. Probably the majority of the Armenians however regard their residence in Lebanon as a temporary exile, and hope sooner or later to return to their own country. Of these, the Tashnak party wish to see their country once more an independent national state, while the Communists and others accept the incorporation of Armenia in the U.S.S.R. and are eager to return and become Soviet citizens. Both these parties recognize that their exile although temporary may be long and that therefore an interim policy is necessary. Some of the Tashnak have tried to follow the example of the Maronites and throw themselves upon a foreign protector; but very many of their party, and all the Communists, desire to reach a modus vivendi with the political forces among the Arabs, either with the Arab nationalists or else with the Arab Socialists and Communists.